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CHAPTER VII

SECURING AQUATIC PRODUCTS

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This chapter describes techniques by which the barriofolk secure aquatic products from creek, river and sea. Pelagic products have been mentioned by various writers as important in the rural diet; the study of the aquatic foods obtained from the rivers and creeks, however, has been neglected in the Philippines. The first part of this chapter describes the catching of "non-commercial" aquatic life from the Caticugan Creek and Siaton River--namely, snails, crabs, shrimp and fish. The latter half of the chapter is devoted to the commercial aspects of pelagic fishing, mainly the fish corral, other types of fish traps, nets, and fishermen's boats. This division is arbitrary; owners of commercial fish corrals consume part of their catch, and some barriofolk have traps merely to obtain fish for their own tables. However, the quantities of fish obtained with the fish corral are much greater than those obtained in any other manner; fish corrals are the "big business" of Siaton municipality.[1]

[1] Various charts are placed at the end of this chapter as a more convenient place, in case the reader wishes to consult them, than the appendix.

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catch fish in the sea and the money necessary to construct a fish corral.

PELAGIC FISHING: INTRODUCTION

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The South Mindanao Sea is considered one of the richest fishing grounds in the Philippines, according to Dr. Villadolid, Director, Bureau of Fisheries. This section describes the methods of catching fish, types caught, and commercial aspects of pelagic fishing. In the past, cattle was the "big business" of Siaton municipality. Today, with the depletion of the herds during the last war, the fish corral has become the municipality's "big business."[31]

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Four major methods of catching sea fish are used in Siaton municipality. First, the bonsod or bongsod (fish corral); second, various types of twine or abaca nets; third, the bobo fish trap; and fourth, hook and line fishing from small boats. As has been noted previously, piscicides cannot be considered a major method of catching pelagic fish in Siaton.

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[31] I did not live in a fishing barrio. However, I spent a great deal of time in Baybay and Malabuhan, often staying in the villages for several days at the time, observing and talking with the residents. Most commercial fishermen lived in the poblacion. Mr. Francisco Baldebrin, vice mayor of the municipality, was one of my most intelligent and willing informants; he managed several fish corrals off Baybay. Other fishermen such as Mr. Pedro Solde and Carding Alonzo, Malabuhan, spent a great deal of time with me, showing me their equipment and explaining their work. For comparative data on Philippine fish traps, types of nets, etc., vide Agustin F. Umali, Guide to the Classification of Fishing Gear in the Philippines. Research Report 17. Washington, D. C., Fish and Wildlife Service, United States Department of the Interior, Government Printing Office, 1950.

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catching pelagic fish in Siaton. Though all the people sell or barter their surplus fish, the bonsod and netting of fish are the most commercialized fishing activities in Siaton, requiring the largest capital investment. The material that follows does not describe the daily activities of the barriofolk of Caticugan, but rather the various commercial fishermen (many of whom live in the poblacion and are municipal officials) and the residents of the fishing barrios that huddle under the coconuts by the blue sea.

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The basis for the Philippine government's present legal control over public waters was the Spanish Law of Waters (1866). What is commonly considered the basic fishing law of the Republic (Act No. 4003) was not passed until 1932. With passage of this Act, the scope of the national government's power and authority over exploitation, protection and conservation of the fishery resources of the Philippines was fully recognized.

> One important feature of Act No. 4003 is the dual authority exercised by both the insular government and the municipal government over fishing and fisheries...This dual authority...has been the cause of frequent controversies between the municipal governments, on the one hand, and the insular or national government on the other. These conflicts are inevitable, undoubtedly due to the political subdivisions of the state...the inherent right of each political subdivision [municipality] to own private or patrimonial property which may include portions of the sea, rivers, etc.; and the desire of the municipal corporations to increase their revenue.[32]

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[32] Jose Sanchez, "What You Should Know About Our Fishery Laws," Times-Mirror 3rd Annual Report on Agriculture and Industrial Progress. Manila, Manila Times-Daily Mirror, (October 30, 1952), p. 26.

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produced in the Philippines. This type of land use is most common along the northern coast of Panay and the Cavite and Pampangan sections of Manila Bay. In Negros Oriental there are several hundreds of acres of fishponds south of Tanjay whereas other ponds are found in Manjuyod and between Guihulngan and Vallehermoso. There were no fish ponds in Siaton municipality.

The Bonsod (Fish Corral)

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Bonsods are a pre-Hispanic method of catching fish. Antonio de Morga describes a type of fish corral used by Filipinos living near Manila in the 17th century.

> The natives' [Filipinos'] method of catching them [fish] is by making corrals of bejucos, which are certain slender canes or rushes, solid and very pliant and strong; these are employed for making cables for the natives' boats, as well as other kinds of ropes. They catch the fish inside these corrals, having made the enclosures fast by means of stakes. They also catch the fish in wicker baskets made from the bejucos, but most generally with atarrayas [a type of fish net], esparaveles [a round fish net that is jerked along in shallow water], and other small barrederas, [a net with a tighter mesh than the usual type] and with hand lines and hooks...[36]

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[14]

Retana, who published an annotated edition of de Morga, speculates that the bonsod originally came from Borneo.

Fish corral varieties in the Philippines have yet to be thoroughly studied and classified. They vary in size and design, from small shallow-water corrals to

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[36]Antonio de Morga, Blair and Robertson, op. cit., XVI, p. 96. Povedano, writing in 1572, mentions the fish corrals of the people of Negros. E. D. Hester (ed.) The Robertson Text and Translation of the Povedano Manuscript of 1572. Transcript No. 2. Chicago, Philippine Sutides Program, Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago, 1954, p. 48. Mimeographed. Unfortunately, this translation was not completed in time for me to use it throughout my report.

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These two types of fish corrals, Leyte and Binatural, are found in Tanjay. (See Plate XLII.)[1] The Leyte fish corral is quite similar to the Siaton bonsod; the former is said to have been introduced to Tanjay by Leyte fishermen. The Leyte fish corral is built in depths thirty to sixty-five feet deep; whereas the Binatural is constructed in shallow waters; as a result the Binatural catches smaller fish. Two similar types of fish corrals are built in Siaton, the large bonsod, similar to the Quinavite and Leyte, and the smaller, shallow-water pahubas that resembles the Binatural and Natural. Siaton pahubas have a small trap, like the bobo, at the exit of the last section of the corral. (See Plate XLIII.)[2]

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Fish corral and bobo activities in Siaton are keyed to the monsoons. The southwest monsoon brings winds and rough seas that destroy the bonsods and make it difficult to lay or retrieve the bobo. Each year the bonsods are rebuilt and each year the southwest monsoon wrecks them, usually in July or August. Sometimes a typhoon sweeps across southern Negros, as in 1951 and 1952, destroying the bonsods earlier than usual. In 1951 all Siaton bonsods except one were destroyed by an early May typhoon; in 1952 the fish corrals were ruined by an early June typhoon. For this reason pelagic fish are less plentiful in Siaton during most of the rainy season.

1 [See p.575, cat. 226 -- Analyst]

2 [See p.575A, cat. 226 -- Analyst]

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In Tanjay fish corrals are built in March and April and last until the northeast monsoon in November. In October, 1950, the fish corrals in this area were destroyed by early northeast winds. Sometimes, the people said, fish corrals are damaged even earlier by an east wind that they call timog.

The northeast monsoon destroys most of the fish corrals along Negros' eastern coast and fish supplies move from southern Negros to Dumaguete; during the southwest monsoon this situation is reversed. Little fresh fish, however, is brought to Siaton from Dumaguete for sale during the rainy season.

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Older informants in Siaton said that once the most common type of fish corral was the Binatural; today's bonsod did not exist. A Binatural was built off Barrio Mantuyop in 1950 but, for the most part, this type is no longer used in Siaton. The fish catch, in the Binatural, was driven into the "last pocket" or section where it was scooped out with small hand nets (salok). One informant explained this type of fish corral "was very expensive to build and hard to catch the fish inside." This may partially explain why the Binatural is rarely built.

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Siaton municipality's coastline is divided into three zones according to the abundance of fish normally caught in bonsods. The first class bonsod zone is from the Zamboanguita-Siaton municipality boundaries to Barrio Sumalaring "in front of the residence of Mr. ——— and the pandan tree." This zone is a most desirable location because

of the protection afforded by an extension of land east of Malabuhan. Fish corrals can be built earlier here than in the other zones. The second class zone extends from Barrio Sumalaring to Salag Point; the third class zone continues from Salag Point to Siaton-Sta. Catalina municipality boundaries. 228 423

In 1951 public auctions were held for the first time for bonsod sites in these three zones. However, the auction was due less to raise funds than to political maneuvering among municipal officials. The auction was held in order to permit one person to obtain the most desirable sites, previously held by an individual then out of favor with local politicians. No auctions were held in 1952 or 1953. 228 423 437 661 427

When no auctions are held, an operator in a first class bonsod zone pays Siaton municipal government $50 annually; second class bonsod zone, $35; third class bonsod zone, $25. An additional license is necessary according to the depths in which the bonsod is constructed; Table ~~XXXI~~ 1 lists these fees. 228 427 423

1 [See p. 579, cat. 228 or 116 -- Analyst]

TABLE XXXI

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License Costs for Bonsods Built in Different Depths[39] Siaton Municipality, 1953

Depth (Feet)	Cost (Dollars)
6	14
10	20
13	40
16	60
20	80
23	110
26	120
30	140
33	150
36	155
40	160

Bonsods built in depths deeper than 40 feet pay five dollars for every additional 3 feet; however, few bonsods in Siaton are built deeper than 40 feet. Pahubas owners must pay an annual fee of eight dollars and bonsod operators a yearly five dollar internal revenue tax.

A municipal ordinance states that no bonsod shall be constructed within 660 feet of another fish corral in marine waters or within 330 feet in fresh water unless they belong to the same licensee. In no case shall bonsods be less than 198 feet apart except in water less than 6 feet deep at low tide. Section 15 of this municipal ordinance requires that all licensees or any person fishing in the "municipal waters of the municipality of Siaton [that includes the rivers] must submit to the

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[39] From Siaton municipal government records. Depths were changed from meters and cost from pesos.

municipal treasurer a monthly report (in triplicate) of the kind, quantity, and value, if so, if the fish caught during the month."[40] 228

Passing an ordinance does not mean it will be obeyed or enforced. In Siaton it is common knowledge that most of the bonsod owners keep two sets of books, one for personal use and the other for inspection by municipal officials. Bonsod owners or operators are 228 651 662

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[40]Section 14 of this ordinance lists types of nets or traps and fees to be paid to the municipality for their annual use.

Type of Net or Trap (A)	Municipal License (Dollars)
Payagkay (Pamalo)	5
Pokot (Sagiwsiw)	4
Pokot (Licus)	10
Sabay (Licus)	10
Sabay (Sondong)	2
Sabay (Ta-an)	4
Sodsod	2
Basnig (Tamban)	10
Basnig (Ligbao)	4
Sabay (Ligbao)	4
Pokot (Lamia)	6
Surambao Filipino	125
Basnig, Japanese system	375
Tapsay	2
Chinchoro	30
Patulay (Malangsi)	30
Balahan	75
(Fishing) With high power light ranging from	
100- 500 c. p.	20
501-1000 c. p.	60
1001-5000 c. p.	80
Bobo (each owner)	3
Nets (Length)	
10 to 25 fathoms	10
26 to 50 fathoms	20
51 to 100 fathoms	40
More than 101 fathoms	60

(A) Local names are given in parenthesis.

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required to pay a 5 per cent tax on their total sales to the municipality where they are located. Accounts shown to the inspectors indicate much smaller sales than are the case. Municipal inspectors sent to measure the depth of water where the bonsod is built or the length of the fish nets for tax purposes often are clerks paid less than ten dollars a month. These clerks sometimes report falsified figures. For example, they may state that a bonsod is built in shallower water than it is or that the nets are shorter than they are in order to reduce the required fees. In payment the clerks are given fish for their families by the owners thus favored.

Many requirements of the municipal ordinance, such as monthly reports, are not fulfilled by the fishermen, and no serious attempt is made at enforcement. Municipal revenue from marine fishing is much smaller than it should be. How much is lost is difficult to estimate but I feel it may be as much as 50 per cent of the potential income. The attitude toward taxes, and to government, in general, in Siaton is similar to that described by Robert Redfield in Tepoztlan. The people of Siaton, for the most part, resent taxes since they receive few benefits from the government. The frequent cases, both alleged and proven, of corruption and waste in national or provincial governments, intensify this attitude. Due to such conditions, the municipality often is deprived of revenues necessary

to initiate improvements; the lack of these improvements is often given as a justification for defrauding the government.[41]

228 651 662

An average bonsod requires considerable capital; consequently many of them are financed through partnerships. The bonsod can be very profitable but it is also a gamble against an errant typhoon, and a gamble that the capital invested will be recovered before the southwest monsoon's arrival. It is also a gamble that large catches will be made on holidays (such as fiestas) when fish bring higher prices.

228 472

Table XXXII[1] shows the cost of three bonsods built by different persons in Siaton in 1951. The costs indicated vary; large bamboos of last year's bonsod, destroyed by the monsoon, may be washed ashore and reused. Some builders use iron anchors (sinipits); others make them locally from wood. If one uses a twine instead of an abaca net the initial investment is larger. For the two bonsods in Table XXXII[1] the cost of a twine and abaca net and a banca are included; these items do not have to be purchased each year. A banca was said to last three or four years, the iron anchors four to five years, and the abaca net seven or eight years. If one

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[41] Robert Redfield, Tepoztlan: A Mexican Village: A Study of Folk Life. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1930, p. 67.

1 [See p. 583, Cat. 228 or 435 -- Analyst]

TABLE XXXII

Cost Breakdown of Three Bonsods

Materials and Labor	Malabuhan (Dollars)		Sumalaring (Dollars)		Baybay (Dollars)	
	Quantity	Cost	Quantity	Cost	Quantity	Cost
Bamboo (65-70 foot poles)	1,000	225	750	150	800	170
Rattan (Balaba)[42]	7,000	49	6,000	48	6,000	51
Rattan (Impaque)	2,500	12	1,800	9	2,000	10
Iron anchor	4	50	-	-	-	-
Rope	1,500[43]	37	960	37	13[44]	32
Wire (Size No. 8)	12[45]	40	11	4	-	-
Banca (35 feet)	1	90	-	-	-	-
Fish net	1[46]	320	1[47]	104	-	-
Coconut trunks	-	-	4	14	-	-
Labor costs	(48)	118	(49)	120		70
Workers ladlad and food	(50)	45	(50)	134	(50)	79
Municipal tax	(51)	50	(51)	50	(52)	35
Internal revenue tax		5		5		5
Totals		₱1,361		₱675		₱452

[42]Balaba rattan is divided equally into four equal parts longitudinally. The Bureau of Forestry considers 1,000 pieces of balaba equal to about 220 pounds.

[43]In feet.

[44]Thirteen rools that vary in length; approximately 240 feet.

[45]Pounds.

[46]Twine net.

[47]Abaca net is cheaper than twine.

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distributes these expenses over the years these two bongods would be less expensive than indicated.[55] 228

Table XXXIII[1] presents figures from Umali's study pertaining to the construction of a Quinavite fish corral in Ragay Gulf, Luzon. They are included for comparison with the figures in Table XXXII. 435

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[48]The labor costs were: making bamboo strips for lag-i, $10; sharpening and cutting slits in bamboo poles, $21; splitting rattan, $7; weaving lag-i, $35; making bamboo raft, $5; and construction of bongod, $40.

[49]The owner employed eleven men for about 1 month; this figure does not include the cost of food served to the men while employed.

[50]Cost of just the ladled feast for Malabuhan was $45, for Sumalaring, $20, and Baybay $20.

[51]First class zone.

[52]Second class zone. The tax on the depth was not obtained.

[53]It is difficult to obtain correct figures on the actual cost of building a bongod because of practices of some bongod operators. For example, purchases made outside the municipality are taxed by the Siaton government. One bongod owner listed in his expense book "for the inspectors" that he had purchased 3,000 pieces of rattan (in Tolong municipality) for $25 instead of the actual 6,000 pieces that cost $51. While rope was purchased from the Chinese stores in Dumaguete, some bongod owners listed the rope as "bought from various persons" in Siaton in order to eliminate the tax. Under such circumstances, while the owners know exactly how much money they have spent, obtaining accurate information is difficult. The persons who gave the information in Table XXXII said they were giving me the "real figures."

1[See p. 585, cat. 228 or 435 -- Analyst]

TABLE XXXIII

Cost of Building a Quinavite Fish Corral[54]
Ragay Gulf, Luzon - 1938

Material and Labor	Quantity	Cost (Dollars)
Materials		
Palma brava (bahe) @ 30¢ each	500	150
Bamboos (bolo or boho) @ $10 per 1,000	2,000	20
Rattan @ $1.50 per 1,000	20,000	30
Bamboo for raft (balsa) and bridge (vela) of the tawanik variety @ $6 per 100	200	12
Cotton (twine) net (siguin)	1	150
Banca		
Cost of splitting 2,000 bolo @ $10 per 1,000		20
Cost of weaving mattings		
Body of 14 pieces (bantasan) @ $2.90 each[55]	14	40.60
Leader of 20 pieces(bantasan) @ $2.90 each	20	58
Labor (contract)		
First maestro [foreman ?]		30
Second maestro		25
Seven men at $7.50 each		52.50
Total Cost		$713.10

Comparing the costs of the Quinavite of Ragay ulf and the bonsod of Malabuhan, the materials for the rmer cost $212, for the latter $431. The cost of the ine net and boat (banca) were $610 in Malabuhan and

[54]Umali, op. cit., p. 189. The date the fish corral s built is not given; the article was published in 1938.

[55]Each bantasan was about 69 feet long.

$275 in Ragay Gulf. These figures illustrate the inflation that has occurred in the Philippines since 1938.

Table XXXIV, at the end of this chapter, lists the local, English and scientific names (whenever possible) of fish caught in Siaton bonsods; Table XXXV gives the frequency of their catch and class accorded them by people living in both the barrio and Siaton poblacion.[1]

Construction of the Fish Corral

Construction of bonsods in Siaton begins in late October or early November. Bonsods are built, for the most part, between Malabuhan and Salag Point; few bonsods are erected west of Salag Point because the coral sea floor makes it almost impossible to embed the posts. (See Plates XLIV and XLV.) In the past the long bamboos needed to build a bonsod could be cut in Caticugan and other barrios near the sea. Today bamboo is cut in Lamtoc, Balanan, and Casala-an and floated as rafts down the river since nearby bamboo resources have been exhausted. Some fish corral owners advance to the cutters in the barrios part of the money to be paid for the bamboo with full payment made on delivery. Long thick poles usually cost about twenty cents each; in Tanjay similar bamboos are reported to bring twice this amount.

Most of the rattan obtained to build the bonsods comes from Tolong municipality. The people said that once rattan grew abundantly in the hills near Caticugan;

[1] [see pp. 640-645 -- Analyst]

[2] [See pp. 586A and B, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

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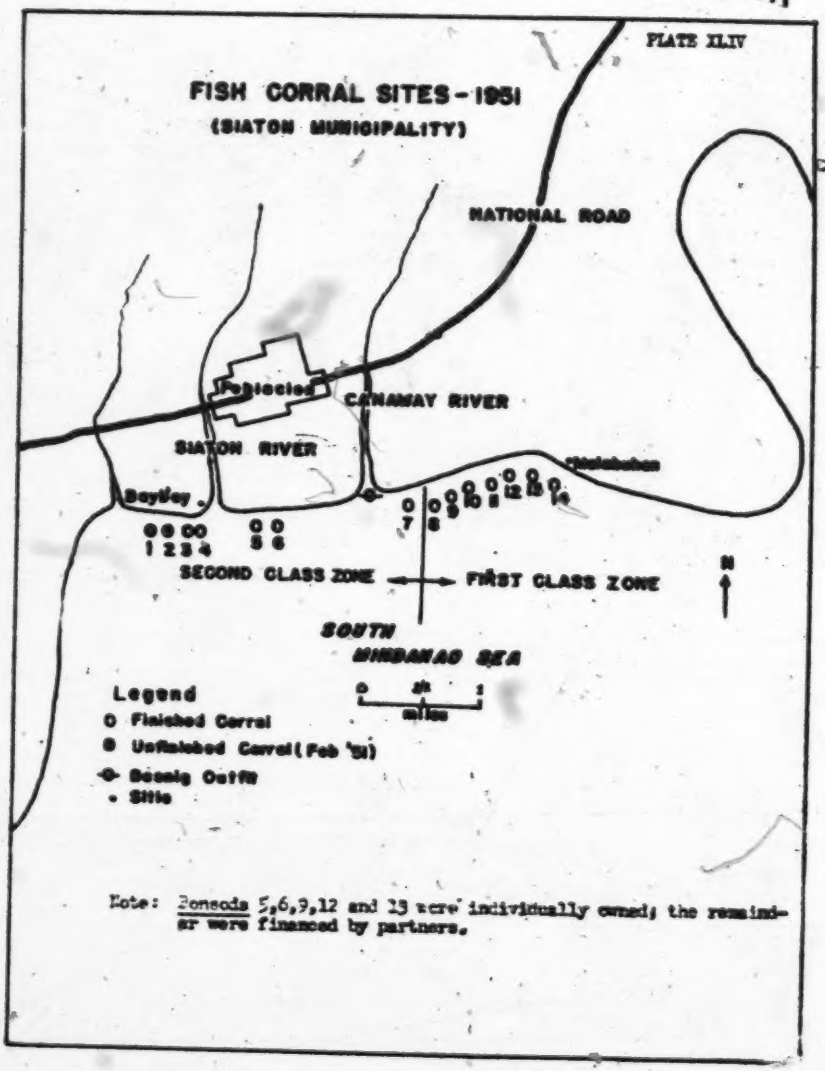
PLATE XLIV



Note: Zonesda 5,6,9,12 and 13 were individually owned; the remainder were financed by partners.

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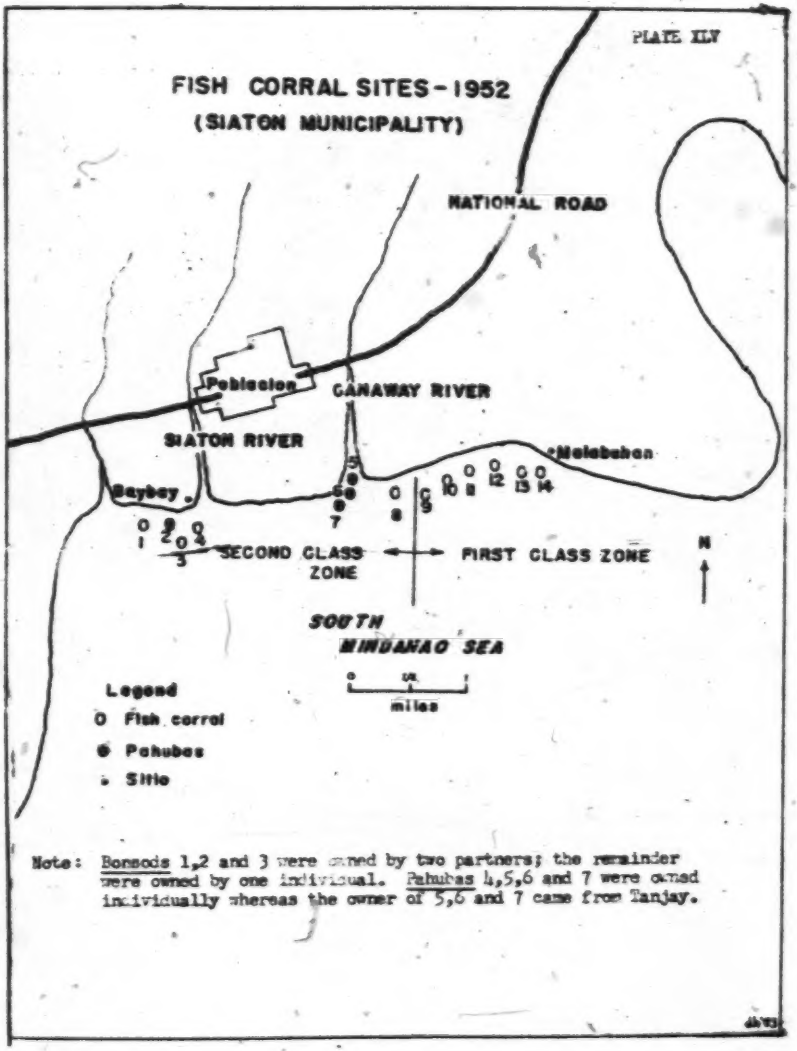
PLATE XLV



Note: Bonsods 1,2 and 3 were owned by two partners; the remainder were owned by one individual. Pahubas 4,5,6 and 7 were owned individually whereas the owner of 5,6 and 7 came from Tanjay.

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One story was told of a man named Jose who found a bamboo section with no visible holes yet contained black ants. Jose loaned the bamboo to a bonsod owner who promised him all the free fish he could eat. Later Jose was asked by the bonsod owner's brother why he was receiving so much free fish. He explained and the owner's brother scolded Jose "in front of many people." As a result Jose took back his bamboo charm; after this incident the bonsod never caught many fish.

Bonsod Financing and Profits

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Various arrangements exist in Siaton for paying bonsod workers and dividing the profits among both workers and partners. One method is to pay the workers wages while building the bonsod and after completion to share with them part of the profits. One bonsod owner shared 10 per cent of the net profits with his helpers. Another bonsod was owned by two partners. Before any division of profits, the cost of constructing the fish corral was deducted. The partner who owned the net received 20 per cent of the net profits; the remainder (80 per cent) was divided in half and shared equally by the two partners (20 per cent each) and their workers (40 per cent among them). Under another arrangement the owner receives two-thirds of the gross sales and his helpers one-third; the cost of the bonsod is not deducted prior to the division of profits. In all cases the bonsod workers are given fish for their families.

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Since many fish corrals are built and operated by partners, books are kept to record the sales in order to divide the profits. It is difficult to obtain details on these figures. When a bonsod owner is "lucky" the fish corral is a profitable investment. One operator said he made $4,000 from two bonsods in 1950. Another said he made $2,000 from one bonsod after deducting construction cost. One fish corral owner showed me his "real figures" that indicated in 1950 his profit from two bonsods were: December (1949), $430; January, $1,463; February, $705; and March, $723. By January, 1952, the same owner had made $1,669 from two bonsods he operated in the first class zone.

Bonsods are still a gamble. In some years bonsods may not return the cost of their construction. This was the case with many fish corrals in 1951. Most of the owners were hoping to retrieve their investments before the corrals were destroyed by the southwest monsoon; then a typhoon came and most of them lost their investments. One owner spent nearly $1,000 (including the purchase of a new net and boat) to get started in the bonsod business. He had sold only $100 worth of fish before his fish corral was ruined by the typhoon; the owner sat on the beach and wept unashamed. The 1952 typhoon was an expensive storm for the bonsod operators. Catches had been poor this year; many owners had not regained their investment before the typhoon's arrival. Before the typhoon a profit was improbable for the bonsod operators; May and June are normally poor fishing months.

When fish corrals are partially destroyed, early in the season, some owners make temporary repairs. Damaged or destroyed banatas, for example, are replaced with coconut fronds. Early destruction or an unprofitable season is harder on the bonsod workers who depend largely on the fish corral for their meat and cash income; many have no land to cultivate. The price of fish is higher when the fish corrals are destroyed or suffer a poor season. Most fresh fish sold in Negros Oriental is obtained from fish corrals.

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Types of Fish Caught in Fish Corrals

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Pelagic fish caught most commonly in fish corrals are the "floating" or "surface" species. Umali writes that herring, mackerel, bageye, round scad and bonito are the migratory species frequently caught in fish corrals and other marine fish traps in the Philippines.[60] In Siaton mackerel is said to be most abundant in April and May, herring in January and February, runner (Elagatis bipinnulatus) from February to May, anchovy from February to March and sardine from December to February. Considerable tuna are caught in the bonsods, particularly the yellowfin and striped varieties.[61] Table XXXV[1] gives additional data on the frequency of catches in Siaton fish corrals.

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[60] Umali, op. cit., p. 180.

[61] Herbert E. Warfel, Outlook for Development of a Tuna Industry in the Philippines, Research Report 28. Washington, D.C., United States Department of Interior, Government Printing Office, 1950. This publication contains a map showing the distribution of the yellowfin and striped tunas in the Philippines.

1 [See p. 644, cat. 228 -- Analyst]

Sale of Fish Caught in the Bonsods

Most fish caught in the bonsods are sold in Dumaguete because of the higher prices paid in the city. Fish are taken to Dumaguete by the busses that run between Tolong-Dumaguete and Siaton-Dumaguete. The bonsod owner pays fifty cents for each box (about the size of an orange crate) of fish hauled to Dumaguete; a tax of one cent a pound is paid on fish sold in the marketplace. Large fish like tuna are tagged on the tail and sent individually to the city market. When the tagged boxes of fish arrive in Dumaguete marketplace they are taken by the owner's agent (in one case a woman) who receives 10 per cent of the profits.

If a large bonsod catch is made and no busses are available until the next day, Siaton operators may hire a small truck owned by a local resident. Since ice is not available, the fish must be sold quickly or they spoil. The lament of a cafe owner near the Siaton River bridge was that during fishing season busses and trucks rarely stopped at his place because they were usually carrying fish to Dumaguete. The drivers feared a leisurely trip might cause the fish to spoil.[62]

Marine fish never were plentiful in the poblacion marketplace during my residence--and fresh-water fish were

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[62]According to the Bell Report the Philippine fishing industry needs to be provided with "cold storage transportation to expand the market for fish, and...the development of freezer packers." The Bell Report, op. cit., p. 66.

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never sold there. The scarcity of fish may be somewhat atypical--although most residents claimed it was not--since the bonsod catches were small this year and the fish corrals destroyed earlier than usual. When the day's fish supply arrived in the marketplace, it was quickly sold; some days there were no fresh fish for sale. Since fish brings a higher price in Dumaguete even small amounts are taken to the city, draining Siaton of much of its fresh fish. For example, one afternoon a fish corral made a catch of more than thirty boxes of sardine. The owner sold a few boxes in Siaton, more from a sense of duty than for profit, at eleven dollars a box; the rest were sent to Dumaguete where they sold for thirteen dollars a box. As a result, whenever news comes to the poblacion that a large catch has been made, either in the bonsod or by netting, the people flock to the seashore to buy fish for their personal use or to sell in the local market.

FISH NETS IN SIATON

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[439]

Since the last war abaca nets have replaced the cotton twine nets once widely used in Siaton; twine nets are very expensive owing to inflation. In the past many large twine nets used were made in Japan whereas today most of them are said to be imported from the United States. Nets made of cotton twine are called pokot or sigin; those made of abaca are called sahid or sinsoro.

One Malabuhan fisherman had an abaca net 1,290 feet long and 18 feet wide. 227

Nets are used in netting bonsod catches. The net is taken to the fish corral in a bokaran (a boat that does not have an outrigger); netted fish are scooped from the large net with a small hand net (sibot). Large nets are also used to catch schools of fish that come near the beach. These nets are taken to the sea in a panahiran, a boat that has an outrigger, and cast into the sea. The two ends of the net are pulled shoreward by people standing on the beach. Sometimes nets will be a combination of twine and abaca, the latter material is used "to make [the net] easier to pull." Large abaca "patches" are also often found in twine nets to catch small fish like the Tugnos and Tolakhang (anchovies). Abaca nets may have a paboto (pocket) of finer abaca weave for catching fingerlings. These are beach seine nets (pukot). 228 227

One fisherman had built a platform between two coconut trees about 30 feet above the beach; here a man stayed to watch for schools of fish. When a school was sighted he called the men by blowing a shell horn (budyong)--the same shell once used to warn the people of Moro raids. Often men in boats search the offshore waters for schools of fish. Sometimes a net is put into the sea for a "blind" catch, i.e., no school of fish is sighted. When a school is seen the panahiran is launched and the school surrounded. If the school is large the news quickly reaches the poblacion. People rush to the beach to help 228

pull the net. When the fish are emptied from the net those who helped receive small shares of the catch. Vendors come with gubang and other foods to sell to the crowd or barter for fish; the people often eat their fish at the beach. The whole affair becomes an impromptu picnic with eating, drinking and swimming.

A few women in Siaton poblacion weave abaca for fish netting. However, most abaca material used to make nets is woven in Dauin and Bacong municipalities; more abaca is grown here and the women have a reputation for weaving. I saw far more looms in Dauin and Bacong poblaciones than in Siaton. The material is sold in rolls forty to fifty feet long and thirty-five to forty inches wide; one roll is often sold to Siaton fishermen for two or three dollars.[63]

Lava Net

The lava is a circular twine net with many small lead sinkers attached to the outer edge.[64] Only one man in Barrio Caticugan owned a lava with a diameter of 11 feet. The lava, however, is rarely used in Siaton; only two were seen in the fishing sitio of Malabuhan. It is

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[63] One woman in Siaton poblacion sold three rolls of abaca (39 inches in width) for $9 to a Chinese store. The fiber cost $3. She estimated that it took her 60 hours to weave the three rolls so she made about 10 cents an hour. Another woman said she could weave 48 feet of abaca daily if the loom were loaded.

[64] De la Victoria , op. cit., p. 46, describes the identical net used in Cebu and also called lava. Lava is a general term for cast net: dala (Tag.), tabukol (Ilk.); sabukol (Pang.). Umali, Guide to the Classification of Fishing Gear in the Philippines, p. 119.

used for fishing in shallow waters, frequently around the mouths of the Siaton and Canaway Rivers; the catch is usually small Hinok, Subad-subad, Tigue (Tigi), Dalangan Balawis, Aso-os, and Gisao.

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Kayakag Net

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The kayakag is a twine gill net used to catch Bangsi and Balo (flying fish and garfish). Umali states kayakag-pamalo is a "gill net for taking balo (garfish) in Negros Oriental Province."[65] The top of the net has floats made from the dried fruit of the bito-on tree to keep the net near the surface. There are two types of kayakag nets: one is about 1,000 feet long and 12 feet wide and used on moonlit nights. During moonless nights a shorter net is employed, about 600 feet long and only 6 feet wide. Some very short kayakags, 4 feet wide and 25 feet long, were seen in Barrio Cabangahan.

Tapsay Net

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The tapsay, an abaca net (sometimes twine), is used only in shallow water. Two men each hold the top corners while two helpers step on the lower corners to submerge this part. Several assistants with pieces of coconut husk tied to strings pull (scarelines) these devices rapidly through the water, simulating a large fish's wake. This frightens smaller fish into the partially submerged net, that is jerked to the surface when the fish are in the center. This net is infrequently seen in Siaton; no

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[65] Umali, op. cit., p. 111.

tapsaya were used in Malabuhan. One informant said the tapsay was quite popular in Bais municipality. 228

Net Preservatives

Tabigi tree bark (Xylocarpus granatum Koenig) and tanbark are used as net preservatives.[66] One Malabuhan fisherman said he purchased a sack of tabigi bark for seventy-five cents from a Tanjay resident. The bark is boiled down with water that is poured into a boat; the nets soaked in the mixture--and sometimes the fishermen's pants are added! This process is done twice a week, and gives the nets a rich brown color. Boiled tanbark and lime water also are used to preserve the nets. Normally only twine, not abaca nets, are soaked in these preservatives "for twine nets are very expensive." On the whole, these native net preservatives are not widely used by Siaton fishermen, probably because so few have twine nets. 227 [824]

Basnig or Lift Netter

The basnig is a bamboo structure that floats at the mouth of a river and can be moved upstream or downstream. Four tall poles with pulleys are used to lower a large square net into the water. When a school of fish passes over the submerged net it is pulled upward by ropes. In 1951 there was one basnig, owned by an Ilongo from Iloilo City at the mouth of the Canaway River.[67]

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[66]Brown, op. cit., III, p. 66.

[67]Villadolid, op. cit., p. 22. The basnig (as pictured by Umali, page 48) is called salambay. His use of basnig (pp. 103-4) describes a different net. Umali, op. cit., p. 148.

To fish with a drop line and bright lights, small holders are built on both sides of a boat that contains a Coleman lantern. The men go to sea around twilight and fish until dawn. Traveling at night by inter-island ship one sees a myriad of tiny lights clustering close to the shore, the fleets of nocturnal fishermen. Lights attract small fish and squid, that are scooped up with a hand net, whereas both lights and smaller fish attract larger fish to baited lines thrown out by the fishermen. Often the men knock on the side of the boat with a paddle; the noise is reported to allure bigger fish. This type of fishing is done mainly to obtain fish for one's family, with perhaps some to barter or sell if lucky; during the southwest monsoon period boat fishing is restricted by rough seas.

Payao and Botad-botad sa Palongpong

In payao fishing a small bamboo raft is built and coconut fronds tied to it. Anchored near the shore, the raft's shade attracts fish that make their home beneath it. At night the men fish the immediate area of the raft.

A large bundle of twigs may be gathered, tied together, weighted, and sunk in the sea. After several days the fishermen hook the bundle and slowly pull it to the surface. Before surfaced a large basket is slipped under the bundle to catch small fish that have been living among the twigs. This method, often used to obtain live bait, is called botad-botad sa palongpong ("to pull up the twigs.")

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The bobo is submerged in water as deep as 250 feet. The tinap-anan bobo often is put in rocky places where the Sulid and Lalagan (golden-striped snapper) are most plentiful. A rattan "rope" (halag), sometimes as long as 600 feet, is attached to the bobo. At the end of this rope a large piece of coral anchors the bobo lest currents shift the position and result in loss of the trap. Floats are not used to mark the position for fear that thieves might steal the fish at night. When the bobo is dropped into the sea sights are taken on the shore (peaks, large rocks, unusually-shaped trees, etc.) and where the two lines converge, the bobo is sunk. Some fishermen also take sights on the stone anchor's position to be doubly sure of relocating the bobo. One Baybay fisherman ties a piece of twine to the stone anchor; this makes it possible for him to know the exact spot where the stone finally rests on the bottom. Then he takes sights on both anchor and bobo.

Table XXXVII[1] lists the fish generally caught in the bobo and at what depths. These data were based largely on records kept over a 2-month period, at my request, by Francisco Baldebrin, who had a number of bobos off Baybay. The ten varieties most frequently caught in the bobo appear to be: Irdangan (Surgeon or Nosefish); Mamsa (Pampano); Dalangdang (Golden-Striped Snapper); Sagisihon; Badlon (Golden Pampano); Dogso; Baulo; Kalamuhoy; Lalang; and Sulid (Caesio).

1 [See p.646, cat. 228--Analyst]

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Bobos usually are inspected every ten or fifteen days. A boat is paddled to the bobo location as determined by the sights taken when the trap was dropped. If the bobo is in shallow water a diver may try to locate it; if in deep water the bobo is retrieved by the kawit method. A wooden hook (kawit or gahid) is thrown into the water and dragged along until it snags the rattan rope. (See Plates LV and LVI .)[1] Plate LV shows a kawit made from an L-shaped limb whereas Plate LVI illustrates a bamboo kawit. Often the kawit is drug for hours before the bobo rope is snagged. Currents shift the bobo from its original site and if the trap is moved too far it is lost. When the rope is snagged, the bobo is pulled to the surface and placed in the boat.

No bait is put inside the marine bobos at Siaton; small fish are said to swim in and out through the bobo's interstices. Bobos also become the habitat of small fish "especially when moss and seesee clams begin to grow on it." These small fish act as bait; larger fish swim inside the bobo to catch them and are trapped. Once in the boat the fish are removed from the bobo through a small trap door, usually in the bottom. A bamboo stick, stuck through the mesh of the door, keeps it closed when the bobo is submerged. A stick (often the "pin" used to keep the trap door shut) is used to push the fish through the opening into the boat's bottom.

Bobos must be dried every two or three weeks otherwise they soon rot; the older the trap the longer and

1 [these plates are missing -- Analyst] [Pg. 619 Miss.]

more frequently it must be sunned. If not dried the average bobo lasts two or three months, but if properly cared for one lasts five to six months. 228

Bobo prices vary from five to fifteen dollars. The minata bobo sketched (Plates LIII-LIV)[1] costs ten dollars to build. In some cases the owner furnishes materials to build a bobo and the maker is paid for his labor. Some bobos are purchased from Zamboanguita, but most of them are made in Siaton. One fisherman in Malabuhan had eight bobos; he shared one-half of the catch from his traps with the men who surfaced and beached them. Another fisherman furnished the materials to make the bobos; the builders and helpers who cared for the traps (the same group) received one-half of the catch. The record catch for one bobo was said to have sold for $125. Often a bobo is surfaced with only a few or no fish inside. 228 [435] 472

Several families living in Barrio Caticugan had bobos sunk off Salag Point. One old man spent several weeks leisurely making a bobo in Barrio Caticugan. However, only a few barriofolk of Caticugan have bobos.

Beliefs Associated with Bobos

The pa-anod already has been described (see Pages 597, 598 and 599).[70] Some said that if a pig were killed 228

[70] Most associated beliefs described in this chapter are almost identical with beliefs held by fishermen of Tayasan poblacion. The pa-anod in Tayasan is called patlao, although the ceremony is nearly the same; sometimes a patlao is made when a trap's catch is consistently small. Hester R. Jason, "Religious Beliefs in a Filipino Community," Dumaguete, Negros Oriental, Silliman University, 1951, pp. 12-3. Typescript. A term report prepared by an anthropology student of Professor Oracion.

1 See p. 615ff, cat. 116 -- Analyst

the bobo would be stained with blood. The traps are often built in seclusion. One woman reported that her brother-in-law was building a bobo in a weedy, vacant lot in the poblacion. She professed ignorance as to why he selected this isolated spot instead of making the trap at his house. This desire for privacy is due to a number of reasons. It is believed that if a person uses a sliver from the whittlings for a tooth-pick no fish will be caught in the bobo. If someone playfully taps another with a bobo splint, or if a dog urinates on the unfinished trap or materials, the bobo's luck may be ruined. It is said to be unwise to gather wood to make a bobo from a grove where bamboo has been cut for a coffin. Some throw sand or pebbles at the bobo's mouth when it is first put into the sea "so it will catch many fish like the grains of sand or pebbles"; this resembles the imitative magic described for agricultural ceremonies.

Bobos furnish the people of Siaton with a considerable quantity of fish. Most traps are beached during the rainy season when the sea is often rough and traps cannot be surfaced. Some traps are quite large and the boats small; unless the sea is calm there is danger that the boat will capsize with the bobo. Rough water and stronger currents of the southwest monsoon season also increase the chances that the bobo's position will be shifted and the trap lost.

TABLE XXXIV

Local, English and Scientific Names of Fish[87] Caught in the Fish Corrals of Siaton
(Alphabetized according to medium-size names.)

Local Names (Different Sizes)			English Names	Scientific Identification
Small	Medium	Large		
Hasahasa	Andohao (Anduhau)	Bolaobolao	Japan mackerel; short-bodied chub	Pneumatophorus japonicus: Rastrelliger brachysomus
Pisog[88]				
Badlon	Badlon	-	Golden Pampano	Gnathanodon speciosus
-	Bakay	-	Nemipterid:Bisugo	Nemipterus sp.
Tugnos	Balangawan	Bolinao	Anchovy	Family Engraulidae
-	Balantiong (Balunabid)[89]	-	Dwarf round herring (Hasselt's round herring (?)	Dussumieria acuta (D. Hasselti) (?)
-	Balangikol; Pakan[90] (Bansiko)	-	Runner	Elagatis bipinnulatus
Ngising-isi or Dangit	Balawis	Kitong	Java siganid	Teuthis javus
-	Baloh (Balo)	-	Gar	Family Belonidae
Barongoy[91]	Bangsi	-	Flying fish	Family Exocoetidae, Cypselurus oligolepis and C. poecilopterus
-	Bangkolisan (Bankulis)	-	Skipjack;striped tuna	Katsuwomus pelamis
-	Bogkanon[92]	-	?	?
-	Bongkokan or Mampahan	-	?	?

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TABLE XXXIV (Continued)

Local Names (Different Sizes)				
Small	Medium	Large	English Names	Scientific Identification
Borogkanon	Budlisan	-	?	?
-	Dalangdang (Dalanglan)	-	Golden-striped snapper	Lutianus flavolineatus
-	Dalapugan (Dalipugan) or Kambil-kambil	-	Leaf fish	Plataz orbicularis
Tanusok	Dogso[93]	-	?	?
-	Guno	-	Silverside	Atherina sp.
-	Haolbaol	-	Sardine or herring	Family Clupeidae, sardinella sp.; harengula sp.
-	Iho	-	Shark	All Families: Order Euselachii
-	Indangan	-	Surgeon or Nosefish	Surgeon (Acanthurus sp.) Nosefish (Naso sp.)
Inid[94]	Kugtong or Badiangon	-	Large grouper	Family Serranidae; Ephinephelus and Auvina; promicrops lanceolatus
-	Kume	-	Sergeant fish	Rachycentron canaduum
-	Lalagan[95]	-	?	?
-	Lamugan	-	?	?
-	Lanohan	-	?	?
-	Lapis	-	Golden leatherjacket	Scatophagus argus
-	Lawayan	-	Slipmouth	Leiognathus equulus
-	Liplipan[96]	-	Sailfish	Istiophorus orientalis
-	Lombalomba[96]	-	Dolphin	-
-	Lumod[96]	-	Swordfish	Xiphias gladius
Tamarong	Malapati (Aguma-a)	Haguma-a	Silverside	Atherina sp.

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TABLE XXXIV (Continued)

Local Names (Different Sizes)				
Small	Medium	Large	English Names	Scientific Identification
-	Malasugi[96]	-	Swordfish and spearfish	Makaira mitsukurii Xiphias gladius
-	Mamsa (Momsa)	-	Jack; Pampano; Cavalla	Caranx sp.
-	Manolsog	-	?	?
Tostos[97]	Nukos	-	?	?
Tiampao	Pag-i, salanga and Mantihang	-	Rays and Manta	All Families, Order Batoidei. Manta (Mobula eregoodoo); devil ray (Family Mobulidae).
-	Panit	Mantala-an	Yellowfin tuna	Neothunnus macropterus
-	Pawikan	-	Turtle	?
Pudlos	Pulag Ikog	-	?	?
Hulokihok	Sulid	Borak	Caesio	Caesio sp.
-	Tamban[98]	-	?	?
-	Tangigi	-	Spanish mackerel	Scomberomo rus Commerson
-	Tulakhang	-	Anchovy	?
-	Tulingan (Turingan)	Ihalason	Tuna	Family Thunnidae
-	Tuloy	-	Indian sardine	Sardinella longiceps
-	Ulan-Ulan	-	Blue Coral beauties or Sapphire fish	All blue colored Pomacentridae or pomacenthus pavo.

[97]Names of fish in () are given when local Siaton names differ slightly from Visayan names given in Herre and Umali. This publication merely gives the Visayan name; where these names differ from Siaton names it means the name is not correct according to the people in this municipality. Identification was made solely on the basis of this publication that lists Visayan, English and scientific names for various fish.

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Footnotes for Table XXXIV (Continued)

[88]Piso means "chick" or "young ones" whereas Pisog means "immature" or "baby fish" and is often prefixed to fish names to distinguish them from their mature types.

[89]Herre and Umali, op. cit., state Balunabid is the same as Balantiong; this is not the case in Siaton.

[90]Pakan, according to Herre and Umali, is "Mackerel scad: Hardtail"; this is not the case in Siaton.

[91]Herre and Umali state Bangsi are flying fish "eight inches long"; Barongoy are medium-size Bangsi.

[92]Bogkanon is not a well-known fish in Siaton but it is not the small size Budlisan.

[93]Dogso is not the name for spearfish or sailfish in Siaton as given in Herre and Umali; it is a different fish.

[94]Probably the same Inid that the people catch in Siaton River.

[95]Herre and Umali state Lalagan are small size Balanglan; this is not the case in Siaton for it is a different fish.

TABLE XXXV

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Frequency of Catch and Class of Fish Caught in Siaton Bonsods

Name of Fish[99]	Frequency of Catch	Class[100]
Andohao	Frequently	A
Bakay	"	C-D
Bangkolisan	"	B-C
Balangawan	"	A
Balansikol	"	C
Balunabid	"	C
Bogkanon[101]	"	D
Budlisan	"	C
Haolhaol	"	C-D
Lamugan	"	C-D
Manolsog	"	B-C
Pulag Ikog	"	C
Malapati	"	A-B
Tulakhang	"	B-C
Tulingan	"	C
Panit	"	B-C
Baloh	Infrequently	C
Bongkokan	"	A
Bulitok	"	B
Lanohan	"	C-D
Lelagan	"	C-D
Dalangdang	"	B-C
Lapis	"	D
Nukos	"	A-B
Tangigi	"	A
Ulan-ulan	"	B-C
Badlon	Rarely	A
Bangsi	"	C-D
Dalapugan	"	C-D
Dogso	"	B-C
Guno	"	D-E
Iho	"	E
Lawayan	"	A-B
Mamsa	"	A
Pagi, salanga, mantihang	"	D102
Pawikan	"	E
Sulid	"	B

TABLE XXXV (Continued)

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Name of Fish	Frequency of Catch	Class
Balantiog	Almost Never	C
Balawis	"	C-D
Indangan	"	D
Kugtong	"	C-D
Kume	"	E
Lombalomba	"	E
Lumod	"	E
Malasugi	"	B-C
Liplipan	"	B-C
Tamban	"	D-E
Tuloy	"	C-D

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[99]Only names for regular-size fish are given under this column.

[100]Code is: A (first class); B (Second class); C (third class); D (fourth class); and E (fifth class, usually not eaten when caught.) First class fish are those having white meat and skins, golden stripes, are non-odorous, and have a "good taste." As would be expected, tastes vary so only the general consensus is given in this column.

[101]Only one informant was familiar with this fish, Boskanon.

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[102]Before the arrival of a school-teacher from Siquijor, few people in Siaton poblacion ate the Salanga. One day a large Salanga was caught and the teacher bought the fish for a small price. He dried the meat and sent chunks to his friends. Today a number of people in the poblacion eat the Salanga that is said to taste "like carabao meat." Salanga is considered somewhat of a delicacy by many people living in Siquijor.

TABLE XXXVII

Fish Caught in Siaton
Bobos at Different Depths

Local Names (Different Sizes)			English Names	Scientific Identification[103]
Small	Medium	Large		
	30 to 45 Feet			
Ngisingis	Balawis (Bulawis)	Kitong	Java Signid	Table XXXIV
-	Tanosuk[104]	-	?	?
-	Dalangdang	-	Golden striped snapper	Table XXXIV
Hulokihok	Sulid	Burak	Cassio	Table XXXIV
Managat	Laob[105]	-	Red snapper ?	Latianus malabaricus ?
-	Poskan	-	-	?
-	Palangan[106]	-	?	?
Inid	Badiangon	-	Large grouper (?)	Family Serranidae
-	Tobotobo (Tubotubo)[107]	-	Trumpet fish	Family Aulostomidae
-	Panangitan (Panangli tan)[108]	-	Moray	Gymnothorax sp.
-	Lipi	-	?	?
-	Hinok	-	?	?

[103] When identification is made elsewhere, names are not repeated in this table.
[104] Herre and Umali state Tanosak are the young of the Dogso; this is not the case in Siaton.
[105] Some informants said another name for Laob is Aha-an that Herre and Umali state is the Red Snapper.
[106] Some informants said Poskan is also called Palangan.
[107] This fish has a trumpet-like nose or mouth.
[108] This eel-like fish is very mean "especially when the female has young."

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TABLE XXXVII (Continued)

Local Names (Different Sizes)			English Names	Scientific Identification
Small	Medium	Large		
Tikong	Botiti[109]	Panabugan	?	?
-	Tandan[110]	-	?	?
-	Bayabay	-	?	?
-	Lubaylubay	-	?	?
-	Dalapugan	-	Leaf fish	Table XXXIV
Tiampao	Salanga, Pag-i	-	Rays and mantas	Table XXXIV
-	Tangka	-	?	?
	45 to 60 Feet			
-	Mamsa	-	Cavalla: Jack	Table XXXIV
-	Baliling	-	?	?
-	Laob	-	Red snapper	Table XXXIV
-	Kagdon[111]	-	?	?
-	Tangka	-	?	?

[109] The following notice appeared in The Philippines Free Press, XLIII, No. 42 (October 19, 1952), p. 60. "Fifty-year-old Ciriaco Bacor of Bacuag, Surigao, and his only son, Irenio Bacor, age nine, died of botete poisoning on September 23. Ciriaco caught a fish called 'botete' and had it cooked. They then ate the fish. One hour after Irenio died and twelve hours after the father expired. Incidentally, it should be mentioned that the wife of Ciriaco died of botete poisoning last year." This is, no doubt, the Botiti of Siaton that is also said to be poisonous.

[110] Tandan are a small thorny fish "with a big liver and tasty meat"; certain parts of this fish are poisonous and must be removed before it is eaten.

[111] Kagdon are identical in shape with the blackish Indangan except the latter has yellowish-red scales.

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TABLE XXXVII (Continued)

Local Names (Different Sizes)			English Names	Scientific Identification
Small	Medium	Large		
-	Timbungan	-	Goat fish (?)	?
Tanusok	Dogso	-	?	?
Pigot	Olibalay	-	Grunt	Pomadasys sp.
-	Abohon (Abo?)	-	Croaker (?)	Family Sciaenidae
-	Badiangon	-	Large grouper	Table XXXIV
Pagapa[112]	Baulo (Balo)	-	Gar (?)	Family Belonidae
			Lactarius	Lactarius lactarius
-	Mambihing[113]	-	?	?
-	Galot	-	?	?
-	Botiti	-	?	?
-	Kanulo	-	Snapper	Lutianus sp.
-	Tandan	-	?	?
-	Banagan	-	Cow-nosed ray	Rhinoptera javanica
	60 to 120 feet			
-	Indangan	-	Surgeon or nosefish	Table XXXIV
-	Mamsa	-	Jack or Pampano	Table XXXIV
-	Ganting	-	Soldier fish	Family Holocentridae
-	Dalangdang	-	Golden-striped snapper	Table XXXIV
Tostos	Bukos	-	?	?
-	Halo-an Tasik[114]	-	Murrel: Dalag (Mudfish)	Ophicephalus striatus

[112] Pagapa are said to be Jack or Pampano, according to Herre and Umali.

[113] A few informants thought Mambihing might be another name for Lisngag.

[114] Halon-an Tasik are said to be like Halo-an (mudfish) caught in the rivers; Tasik means "salty." The fish is so called because when caught in the sea it tastes salty.

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TABLE XXXVII (Continued)

Local Names (Different Sizes)			English Names	Scientific Identification
Small	Medium	Large		
-	Badlon	-	Golden pampano	Table XXXIV
Pagapa	Baulo	-	Gar (?)	-
	Pag-i, etc.	-	Rays and manta	Table XXXIV
-	Pakolo (Pakol)	-	Trigger fish: Black Oldwife	Black Oldwife (Melichthys radula)
-	Kawayanon	-	?	?
-	Bilaobilao	-	?	?
	120 to 840 Feet			
-	Mamsa	-	See elsewhere	Table XXXIV
-	Kalamuhoy	-	?	?
	Iho tike[115]	-	Shark	?
Inid[116]	Badiangon	-	Large grouper	Table XXXIV
-	Indangan	-	Surgeon or nosefish	Table XXXIV
-	Balabawan	-	?	?
-	Mayamaya	-	?	?
-	Nukos	-	?	?
-	Dogso	-	?	?
-	Banagan	-	?	?
-	Tambuli	-	Large sea-snail	?
-	Halo-an Tasik	-	?	?
Fish Caught in Bobo But at Unknown Depths				
-	Dapat	-	?	?
-	Dapak	-	Red snapper	Litianus equulus
-	Lalong	-	Zebra or scorpion fish	Dendrochirus sp. and Pterois sp.

[115] A shark with skin and eyes similar to that of the Tike, a house lizard.
[116] Some informants said Badiangon are mature Inid; others disagreed.

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